

SOME  
PAPERS

Given in by the COMMISSIONERS  
of the PARLIAMENT of  
SCOTLAND,

To the Honourable Houses of the  
Parliament of ENGLAND.

In Answer to their VOTES of the  
24. of September. 1646.

CONCERNING  
The disposing of His MAJESTIES  
PERSON.

To which is added,  
The SPEECHES of the Lord Chancellour of  
SCOTLAND.

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The third Impression.

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EDINBURGH:  
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Kings most Excellent Maiesty. 1646.*



20. Octob. 1646.

From the Commissioners for the Parliament  
of Scotland.

Right Honourable.



We do herewith present to the Honorable Houses two Papers, in Answer to their Votes of the 24. of September, wherein we have contributed our best endeavours to come to a speedy agreement in the great affairs now in agitation, and to preserve and continue a firm correspondence between the Kingdoms: And we cannot but promise to our selves, that we shall meet with the same affections in the Honorable Houses; That all differences being determined, and all just desires satisfied, these Kingdoms may still remain in a sweet concord and brotherly conjunction, then which nothing can be more acceptable to

Your Lordships most humble servants,

Worcester House, the  
20. of Octob. 1646.

For the right Honorable the Speaker  
of the House of  
Peers, *pro tempore*.

Loudoun.  
A. Johnston.  
Hugh Kennedy.

Louderdaill.  
Charles Erskine.  
Ro. Barclay.

Having



Having received the Votes of both Houses, dated the 24. of September, concerning the disposing of the Kings Person as both Houses of Parliament shall think fit. Although we judge (as in charity we ought) that it is not the meaning and intention of the Honourable Houses, to claime or assume to themselves the whole and sole power to dispose of His Majesties Person, which is known to be a matter, as of high, so of common and equall concernment to both Kingdoms: Yet lest by our silence the right and interest of the Kingdom of *Scotland* should be prejudiced; and lest that sense of those Votes, which many have apprehended and expressed, should minister occasion of mis-understanding and difference between the Kingdoms, according to the desires and hopes of our common enemies; We have judged it necessary, with that freedom, candor, and plainnesse which becometh Brethren, to represent our thoughts concerning this great businesse, to both Houses.

We do acknowledge, that as Positively the Houses of Parliament have as much power in disposing of the Kings Person as any one Parliament hath or can have, to dispose of a King who hath more free Kingdoms then one; So Negatively none ought or may dispose of His Majesties Person, without, or against their consent. The like we suppose, will be mutually acknowledged in reference to the Parliament of *Scotland*, It being a fundamentall Right and Liberty of either Kingdom, That none can justly



(without their own consent) impede or restrain the Person of their King from coming amongst them, and doing the duties of a King unto them: And in both these Senses we acquiesce in the Vote of the Honourable Houses.

But if the Vote should be meant or made use of as restrictive to the Parliament of *England*, and exclusive of the Parliament of *Scotland*; Or, as if the two Houses were to dispose of the Person of the King, by their single and sole authority, without the consent and concurrence of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; We trust this sense is as far from the thoughts of both Houses, as it is from justice and equity: the Parliament of *Scotland* having as much interest in the Person of the King of *Scotland*, as the Parliament of *England* hath in the Person of the King of *England*; and the Person being but one, both Kingdoms must needs share equally in that joynt interest. Neither hath the Parliament of *England* any more power to dispose of the person of this King of *Scotiana* being in *England*, then the Parliament of *Scotland* hath to dispose of the person of this King of *England* if he were in *Scotland*: And as the Parliament of *England* might justly conceive their interest and power to be greatly prejudiced, if the Parliament of *Scotland* should claim the sole power to dispose of His Majesties person being in *Scotland* (and consequently if they shall so think fit to restrain his Person from coming to his Houses of Parliament when the necessary affairs of this Kingdom require his presence) So we cannot but in justice expect to be dealt with by the Honourable Houses, as they would have us in like cases to deal with them.

Although what we have now expressed might be sufficient, as to our sense of the Vote; Yet it shall not be super-



superfluous but very expedient, that we further clear our selves and our reall intentions, in that which we first offered in our Paper of the 11. of August, Concerning a joynt consultation and resolution of both Kingdoms, what is next to be done in reference to the King. Which motion we now resume to be still insisted upon: For the question is not, whether the Houses of Parliament, or the Scots Army shall dispose of the person of the King in *England*. Our Army claimeth no power to dispose of his Majesties Person. And as they could not refuse to receive him when he came amongst them; So they are ready to obey and submit to the joynt resolutions of both Kingdoms concerning his Majestie. Neither is the question, which of the two Kingdoms shall trust the other with the present residence of the Kings Person, till he be disposed of by the consent and agreement of both. Let it be far from both Kingdoms, that the former mutuall confidence, should now turn to a mutuall diffidence: And let not a blessing from heaven be expected upon either of the Nations, which continueth not faithfull to the other, according to the Covenant; Our confidence in the Wisdom, Justice, Loyaltie, and Faithfulness of the Honourable Houses is such, that whensoever the King shall be willing to return unto them, and they willing to receive him, we shall not make the least impediment, but give our cheerfull consent. Least of all is the question concerning any Priviledge or Power of the Parliament of *England*, or any Law, Liberty, or practise of this Kingdom, to dispose of their King. It is not our meaning to controvert what in that kinde they may do, or at any time have done according to their Laws (which are best known to themselves) for their good and safety, without the least shadow

of any dependencie upon another Kingdom. But withall we desire it, may be remembred, that this is to be transferred equally to the power and priviledge of the Parliament of *Scotland*. We do not meddle with any of the single or proper Rights, Priviledges, or Laws of this Nation, more then we would have our Brethren to meddle with ours. It is one thing what the Parliament of *England* might have done in another Cause or Warre, before their engagements by the Covenant and Treaties with the Kingdom of *Scotland*: It is another thing what ought to be done after such conditions and ryes imposed by neither Kingdom upon the other, but by both joyntly upon themselves, and as mutuall Obligations, both to God, and each to other: Although we might, also go further back than to the Covenant and Treaties, and plead the common and equall interest of the Kingdoms, in their common Head and Sovereign, ever since they were so united, as may sufficiently appear, even by some instances in his Majesties time who now reigns over us. It may be remembred (as to the interest of *Scotland*) that when his Majestie was first invited and desired to come into that Kingdome to be Crowned, It was represented by the Lords of His Majesties Privie Councell in *England*, that the great affairs of this Kingdom could hardly dispence with his Majesties going to *Scotland*: And therefore that either he might receive his Crown of *Scotland* by a Vicegerent there, or that it might be sent hither unto him. Likeas, this present Parliament when the King went last into *Scotland*, to settle the Peace of that Kingdome, did earnestly desire and presse, that Hee might not goe, but that hee might stay here for the urgent affairs of this Kingdome. But both in the one case and in the other, the  
interest

interest of the Kingdom of *Scotland* was preserved: And as it was most necessary, that His Majestie should go into that Kingdom for receiving that Crown, so His Majesty found it expedient to goe thither for the settling of Peace. It may also be remembred ( as to the interest of *England* ) that the English Nobility both at the *Berks Anno 1639*, and at *York 1640* ( whose letters to that purpose are yet extant and to be seen ) And this Parliament *Anno 1641* did claime an interest to see and know our demands proposed to the King, that neither His Majesty nor themselves might be hereby prejudiced.

But the present question needeth not go so farre upon a back trade: Whatsoever the joynt interest of the Kingdoms was formerly, it is without controversie now much more conjoynd. And ualasse we lay aside the Covenant, Treaties, Declaration of both Kingdomes, and three years conjunction in this warre, Neither the one Kingdome nor the other, must now look back what they might have done singly before such a strict Union; but look forward, what is fittest to bee done by both joyntly for the common good of both, and for the ends of the Covenant, which both are obliged joyntly to prosecute and promote. So that the true and proper question in this conjuncture of affairs, is, whether both Kingdoms have not a joynt and common interest, in disposing of the King of both, for the good of both, and that His Majesties Person ought not to be disposed of by either Kingdom singly. Much might be said for this joynt way, and against a divided way, from the nature of all associations, and the common rules of equiry observed between persons, societies, or nations, which have a joynt interest in the same Person, Parent, Master, Servant, Or in the same thing inheri-



inheritance, lands, house, stock, or the like. In which cases, one of the parties associated, may not without the consent of the other, dispose of that which is common, especially if it be a common Person, and least of all if it be a Person of chiefest eminency or concernment: For although a common thing may be divided, and to each party his proper share assigned, yet one individuall Person doth not admit of a partition, and so requireth the greater Union and conjunction of Councils in the disposal of it. And as reasons may be drawn from the nature of all associations; so especially from the nature of ours in the solemn League and Covenant, the Title, Narrative Articles and conclusion of it, do along linke together the interest of the Kingdomes, in this common cause so much concerning the glory of God, their own safety, Union and Peace, and the honour and happinesse of the King and his posterity; which ends of the Covenant, both Parliaments aswell as other Subjects of both Kingdoms, have obliged themselves joyntly and mutually to promote, according to their power, and to continue zealously and constantly therein all the dayes of their lives, against all opposition; And to assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and never suffer themselves to be divided directly or indirectly from this blessed Union and conjunction. So that the ends of the Covenant (upon which the disposal of the King must needs have a strong influence) are not to be prosecuted by the two Kingdoms, as by two distinct bodies acting singly, but *they were united by solemn Covenant made to Almighty God, and by League each to other, as one intire body to prosecute this cause*; Which was the expression used by the Honourable Houses in their  
 Declaration

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Declaration of the 5 of August 1645, to the Lords States  
Generall of the United Provinces of the Low Countries.  
In which Declaration this notable instance was given,  
which deserveth also to be remembred, That by the Co-  
venant both Houses of Parliament, and many thousands  
of other His Majesties Subjects of *England* and *Ireland*,  
stand bound as well as we, to hinder the setting up of the  
Church government by Bishops in the Kingdome of  
*Scotland*, And that we as well as they stand bound to en-  
deavour the extirpation thereof in *England* and *Ireland*.  
And as by the Covenant, the Kingdomes are fast linked  
together in the whole prosecution of this cause; so parti-  
cularly both are obliged to endeavour mutually to pre-  
serve and defend the Kings Majesties Person and Autho-  
rity, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion,  
and liberties of the Kingdomes, That the world may bear  
witness with our consciences of our loyalty, And that  
we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Maje-  
sties just power and greatnesse.

From the Treaty the same thing doth further appear,  
it being thereby manifest, that as our Army was to be lea-  
vied for the common good of both Kingdomes, in the  
pursuance of the ends exprest in the Covenant, And not  
as Auxiliaries for the single good of this Kingdom; So  
they are not tied to be subject to the resolutions and di-  
rections of either Kingdome singly, but of both jointly.  
Also by the 8th. article, no Cessation, Pacification nor  
Agreement for Peace whatsoever, is to be made by either  
Kingdome, without the mutuall advice and consent of  
both. So that if the disposall of the Kings Person, men-  
tioned in the Vote of both Houses, be intended for the  
good, Peace, and security of both Kingdomes, then it  
should

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should not be done without the mutuall advice and consent of both ; But, if intended for the Peace and security of this Kingdome within it self singly, this were to settle the Peace of the one Kingdome, not onely without the counsell and consent, but before the settlement of the other, and so the more inconsistent with the plain scope of that Article. Moreover by the 9th. Article of the same Treaty, all matter of difference arising between the Subjects of the two Nations, are to be resolved and determined by the mutuall advice and consent of both, which hath ever been the usuall way in such cases : Neither know we any other way for healing of differences between two free Nations, which are as Brethren and equalities, and neither of them subordinat to the other. If therefore any difference should arise (which God forbid) between the two Parliaments or any others of the Subjects of the two Nations, concerning the disposing of His Majesties Person, then the question cannot be otherwise resolved and determined, but by the mutuall advice and consent of both. How much better is it (according to the 6th. Article of the Covenant) to consult how to prevent all differences which are like to arise between us or our posterities?

The honourable Houses in their wisdom did think fit that in the managing of this War there should be a conjunction of the Councils of both Kingdoms in reference to the English as well as to the Scottish forces. How much more may we expect a conjunction of Councils in disposing of His Majesties Person, wherein the one Kingdome is as much interested as the other.

If more need to be said in this businesse, we hope it is not forgotten, how the Declarations of both Houses and their



their Commissioners sent into *Scotland*, to desire their assistance and engagement in this Warre, did invite, sollicite and perswade that Nation upon principles of common interest, And in regard the one Kingdome cannot enjoy a firme and durable peace, while the other is in warre: Wee were also put in mind of the affection and duty which becometh brethren. And as we did upon these and the like considerations, espouse our brethrens quarrell; So it cannot be offensive that we desire from them an improvement of the very same principles: And that the same measure of the Conjunction of interests be given to us, which was got from us. God forbid, that wayes of separating the interests of the Kingdoms should now be studied, as much as ways of Uniting them were before indeavoured. We cannot but expect beter things from our Brethren, then in their prosperity to desert us, who did engage and joyn with them in their greatest affliction; Or to think of securing their own Peace without us, while the troubles of our Kingdome continue.

Wherefore, wee cannot choose but obtest by the common good of both Kingdomes; by the conjunction and parity of interests; by the love of Brethren; by Declaration of both Houses; by former presidents; by the Treaty between the Kingdoms; by the solemn League and Covenant: yea, by the very law of Nations and rules of common equity, that there may be a conjunction of the Counsells and resolutions of both Kingdomes, in disposing of that royall Person who is King of both, and that all lawfull and possible means (of which this is one and a cheife one) may be used, which may preserve His Majesties Person, honour, and hapinesse according to the Covenant; Monarchicall government according to the

fundamentall Jawes of both Kingdoms : Together with a firme and happy Union between the Kingdoms.

These principles we desire still to go upon, And therefore if the vote of both Houses communicated unto us, be understood as a material demand of his Majesties Person to be delivered unto them, to be disposed of as they shall think fit : This as it doth not necessarily follow from the words of the vote nor doth agree with that sense of the vote, which in charity we are most willing to entertain, so there are just & great reasons against it. We acknowledge that wee are not to presume the worst, but the best concerning the intentions of the honorable Houses towards the King. But we do not doubt it will be mutually acknowledged that for preventing of differences afterward it is most fit and necessary, that there be a cleere and distinct understanding between the two Kingdomes, in a businesse of this nature and consequence. And that it is not to be expected from private persons (though under jurisdiction) much lesse from another Kingdome, that they should passe from their interest or just security, because they have to do with such, as they judge to be honest and faithfull. To speake therefore to the nature of the thing in it self, if the Scotch army should deliver up His Majesties Person without his owne consent, and that upon the vote communicated unto us, which (although it may suffer a benign interpretation and be understood of the disposing of the Kings Person favorably and honorably, yet) as the words stand, is comprehensive and capacious of more then is fit to be expressed : This Act of the Army were not agreeable to their Oath of Allegiance (obliging them to defend his Majesties person from all harms and prejudices) nor to the Solemne League and Cove-

Covenant, which was not intended to weaken, but to strengthen our Allegiance, and to wipe off the calumny and aspersions of Rebellion : For which end, before our engagement in this Warre, it was mutually covenanted between the Kingdoms, to preserve the Kings Majesties Person and Authority, in the preservation of the Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms ; Thereby holding forth to the world, that the preservation and defence of Religion and Liberties, may well consist, and was intended to consist with the preservation of his Majesties Person and Authority, whom therefore our Army cannot deliver, to be disposed of by any others at pleasure. This delivery were also inconsistent with that joint, equall, and common interest of both Kingdomes in the disposall of his Majesties Person, which we have before asserted ; And, were upon the matter a passing from the right & interest of the Kingdom of *Scotland* in that businesse. It were also contrary to his Majesties power of residence in any of his Kingdoms, and to the free exercising of the duties of his place and acts of personall Government, such as the hearing and redressing of the grievances of his Subjects in Parliament, and his concurring to the making of Laws. Neither could it stand with the Commissions given to the Committee of Estates and general Officers of our Army, or with their military Oath, to deliver up their King, without his own consent, and without warrant from the Parliament of *Scotland*, to be disposed of by another Nation : Even as it were not to be expected, that the Army under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, if they were in *Scotland* for our assistance there in the like cause, and under the like ingagement, in a recess of the Parliament of *England*, and without their warrant, would upon the



like demand deliver up the King (having cast himself in their hands) to be disposed of by the Parliament of *Scotland*. Finally, if it be contrary to the Law and common practice of Nations, to deliver up the meanest subject fled to them, though it be for the greatest crimes: (for which cause the Parliament of *England* in the 4. of King *James*, as likewise in the large Treaty, refused a generall Act of remanding between the two Kingdomes, unlesse they should be united into one) how much more would the world abroad condemn our Army for a base and dishonourable act, if they should deliver up their Head and Sovereign (having cast himself into their hands) to be disposed of at the arbitrement of another Nation.

And now wee hope it will not be tedious, that we further enlarge our selves upon this great subject, by adding satisfactory Answers to such Objections as have been, or may be made against our desires and principles in this businesse.

Object. 1. *That the Scottish Army is an Auxiliary Army of England, and under their pay, and therefore ought to deliver up the King, to be disposed of by both Houses as they shall think fit.*

Ans. It is sufficiently known, that the Scottish Army came not into this Kingdome in the nature of Auxiliaries: For when it was desired by the Parliament of *England*, that the Kingdome of *Scotland* should send an Auxiliary Army into this Kingdom, to be subject to the directions and resolutions of both Houses, it was absolutely refused, as may appear by the severall Papers about that purpose yet extant. The Kingdom of *Scotland* did foresee and consider how prejudiciall it was to forsake their own Peace, and what infinite troubles, losses, and unavoidable

able danger their engagement with the Parliament of *England* against so powerfull and prevailing an Enemy, would bring upon the Kingdom of *Scotland*: And as they regarded not the large offers nor the threats of the other side for all their prosperity; so there was no offer of pay or other worldly advantage whatsoever from the Houses of Parliament, which could have induced them to undertake so hazardous and desperate a War. It was the good of Religion, King and Kingdomes, they set before their eyes, in order to which end, they accounted nothing too deer unto them: And having resolved to engage in this Cause for assistance of their Brethren therein, they did not stand upon conditions, but without respect to the season of the year, the great strength of the Enemy, and other discouragements, They did in a short time leavy an Army at their own charge: And because of the many burdens then lying upon this Kingdom, were content for the present to accept of a sum toward the Monthly entertainment of that Army, amounting to little more then half pay, and to supersede all further recompence till the War should be at an end. And seeing the Kingdome of *Scotland* was to quit their own Peace, and equally with *England* to undergo the hazard of the War, it was found reasonable, that the prosecution thereof, and the making of the conditions of Peace after the War, should be with joint advice and consent of both Kingdomes. And according to these grounds a Covenant was agreed upon for the Reformation of Religion, and for preservation of the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and of the Kings Person and Authority: together with a Treaty, wherein it is declared, that the Scottish Army shall be commanded by a Generall appointed by the Estates of *Scotland*, and shall be subject

subject to such resolutions and directions, as are and shall be mutually agreed upon and concluded between the Kingdoms, or their Committees in that behalf appointed for pursuance of the ends of the Covenant: of which, one is to defend and preserve his Majesties Person.

*Object. 2. That the King is in England, and therefore to be disposed of by both Houses of Parliament, and cannot be disposed of by the Scottish Army: And though the Kingdome of Scotland may pretend to an interest and power in the disposing of the King, yet they can have no exercise of that power in England: And albeit the Scottish Army, according to the Treaty between the Kingdomes be onely subject to such resolutions as are mutually agreed upon by both Kingdomes, or their Committees appointed in that behalf, yet this is onely to be understood in ordering and regulating of the Scottish Forces for prosecuting the warre, and the Treaty extends no further.*

*Ans.* Although His Majesties riding one dayes journey might wholly subvert the grounds of this Objection; Yet we shall not insist upon this Answer, because we conceive it toucheth not the true state of the question. It hath been already cleared what is not, and what is the state of the question, which being remembred, wee doe assert, That the King coming voluntarily to the Scottish Army, they cannot in duty deliver him against his will to the Houses of Parliament without consent of the Kingdome of Scotland: For the being in England takes not away the relation between the King and His Subjects of the Kingdome of Scotland, nor ought it to impede the performance of the mutuall duties founded upon that relation: For Allegiance hath no limitation of place, being grounded upon the Law of Nature, as well as the law Municipall, and so is rather universall then locall. The difference



difference of place takes not away the relation and mutu-  
all duties between parents and children, And it is not the  
place but the relation which gives interest to the dispo-  
sing of the Person of the King. As his being in England  
takes not away the relation between him and his Subjects  
of Scotland, so it doth not infringe the mutual obligations  
and solemn engagements between the Kingdomes, for  
joynt counsells in prosecution of the War and settling  
of the peace: The Kings comming to the Scottish Army,  
being an emergency of our joynt War, and the right dis-  
posall of his Person, the onely meane ( for the present )  
of our joynt securitie and peace. Neither can the Kings  
being in England, prejudice any right or priviledge of  
either Kingdome. It is the Fundamentall right and pri-  
viledge of the Parliament of Scotland, and the liberty of  
that Kingdome (as we acknowledge it to be the right and  
priviledge of the Kingdome of England) that the person  
of their King ought not to be disposed of, but with their  
advice and consent. The place of the Kings residence (as  
was answered to us, when in the large Treaty it was de-  
sired His Majestie might sometimes reside in Scotland)  
is at his owne election, in either of the Kingdomes as the  
exigence of affairs shall require and he shall think fit, Or  
else must be determined by the mutuall advice and con-  
sent of both Kingdomes. From all which grounds it is  
apparent, that the Kingdom where he resides for the time,  
may doe no Act which may hinder His Majesty to per-  
forme the office and dutie of a King, to the Kingdome,  
from which he is absent in Person, Nor impede him to  
repair to that Kingdome, when the affairs thereof shall  
necessarily require it. Otherwise, if the Kingdom where  
His Majesty resides hath the sole interest and right to dis-  
pose

pose of his Person, the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, might upon former occasions and may now, in case the King and Prince shall repair to Scotland, lawfully detain them there, and make it the place of the ordinary residence of them and their posterity, without the consent of the Kingdome of England: Which we acknowledge could not be done without a manifest prejudice & injury to this Kingdome. Wherefore we cannot but conclude that wheresoever the King be, in Scotland or England, he being the King of both, ought to be disposed of for the good and with the consent of both Kingdomes. And if it be considered that the Scottish Army was invited and called into this Kingdom by both Houses in a Treaty for prosecuting the ends of a solemn League and Covenant, whereof one is to preserve and defend His Majesties Person, there can remaine no doubt concerning the exercise of that right and interest in this Kingdom: And therefore it seems very strange, that when upon invitation they are come into England, as for other ends, So to defend His Majesties Person, their being in England should be made use of, as an argument why they should deliver up the Person of their King to be disposed of, as both Houses shall think fit. Whereas it is alledged, that the Treaty extends no further then to the ordering and regulating of the Scottish Forces in relation to the warre: Although this be really answered from the nature of the thing, the Kings committing to the Scottish Army being an emergency of the warre, and to the delivering of his Person comes under the regulation and direction of both Kingdoms or their Committees, as an Act of the Scottish Army; Yet that all doubt may be removed, we further adde, that it is cleere from the third Article of the Treaty, that the  
Scottish

Scottish Army is to receive the Directions of both Kingdomes or of their Committees; in all things which may concerne the pursuance of the ends of the Covenant and Treaty, whether in relation to Peace or Warre. In the 8th Article of the Treaty, no Cessation, Pacification, or agreement for Peace whatsoever, is to be made by either kingdom, or the Army of either kingdom, without the advice and consent of both kingdomes. And in the 9th Article, all differences arising between the Subjects of the two Nations are to be resolved and determined by the mutuall advice and consent of both kingdomes.

*Object. 3. That the Scottish Army did carry away the King from the Leaguer before Newark when there was a Committee of both Houses there, without seeking their consent; and that they have since disposed of him without consent of the Houses of Parliament, whereas by the Treaty they ought to do nothing without a joynt resolution of both Kingdoms or their Committees.*

*Ans.* No sooner did the King come into the Scottish Army, but the very same day the Committee of Estates of Scotland, residing with that Army, did acquaint the Commissioners of both Houses therewith. And not satisfying themselves with this, the day following they wrote a Letter to the Committee of Scotland residing at Edinburgh, and another to the Committee of both kingdomes here (which was communicated to both Houses) desiring the advice of this kingdom, as in a matter of common interest, and declaring they would obey the joynt resolutions of both kingdomes: Yet no answer or advice was returned unto them, either from the Houses or their Commissioners. But immediately after the surrender of Newark, they received information that five thou-



fand Horse and Dragoones from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his  
 Army were upon their march towards them Northward  
 (which the Honourable House of Peers was pleased to  
 give order to stop) there being no Enemy in those parts  
 to be opposed: Upon consideration whereof, the Quar-  
 ters wherein they had stayed during the siege of Newark,  
 being extreemly exhausted, and the Service for which  
 they came thither being performed, for preventing mis-  
 takes or new troubles between the Kingdomes, They re-  
 moved into Yorkshire, & the King as he came unto them  
 of his owne accord, did voluntarily march along with  
 them. Upon severall occasions afterwards, They and  
 we did earnestly desire the Honourable Houses to send a  
 Committee to joyn and co-operate with the Committee  
 of Estates there upon the place, in all things according to  
 the Treaty: But no answer was returned. And from  
 time to time the Houses were acquainted with the pro-  
 ceedings in that Army; which, were according to the  
 Covenant, and the known resolutions of both King-  
 domes, to debarre all such of both or either Kingdoms as  
 had been in Arms against the Parliament, from comming  
 into their Quarters, or to the Court, or to the Kings Per-  
 son, according to the desire of the House of Peers. And  
 whereas it is affirmed, That by the Treaty the Scottish  
 Army ought to doe nothing without a joynt resolution of  
 both Kingdomes or their Committees, There is no such  
 Clause in the Treatie, but they are to be subject to such  
 resolutions as are and shall be agreed upon, and concluded  
 mutually between the Kingdoms and their Committees,  
 as by Ordinance of Parliament, the Army under the com-  
 mand of the Earle of *Essex*, or of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, was  
 to receive and observe the Directions of the Committee  
 of

of both Kingdoms sitting at *Westminster*; But in case no new Directions were sent unto them, they were left to former Orders (if any were) or otherwise to their own judgement and discretion. There was never any such resolution agreed upon between the Kingdoms or their Committees, as that the Scottish Army should not receive the King if he came unto them, but it is an agreement between the Kingdoms (in the Covenant) that they should preserve and defend his Majesties Person; And (in the Declarations of both Kingdoms) to rescue him from the common Enemy: So that the Scottish Armie having often desired to know the direction and advice of the Houses of Parliament, concerning the King, and no new Directions being signified unto them; According to the Treaty, they were to observe the Directions and Resolutions formerly agreed upon between the Kingdoms. And as the Scottish Army do and will ever acknowledge, that they claime no power to dispose of the Kings Person, but are subject to, and shall be ready to follow whatsoever both Kingdoms shall agree upon, as best for the King and Kingdoms: so their keeping and preserving his Majesties Person (as they would do to any person of his eminency and relation in an Army or Garrison Town) without the least thought of hindering his voluntary return to his Parliament, cannot be reputed or called a disposing of his Person.

*Object. 4. If any Peere of England go to the Scottish Armie and desire their Protection, can he not be disposed of without the consent of the Committee of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland residing with that Army?*

*Ans.* There is a wide and manifest difference betwixt the relation the Scottish Army hath to any Subject

of *England*, and the relation they have to their King: which are sufficiently distinguished in the third & fourth Articles of the Covenant: for by the one they are mutually obliged to preserve and defend his Majesties Person, and by the other they are mutually obliged to endeavour, that all Incendiaries and dividers betwixt the King and his People, or betwixt the Kingdoms, be brought to tryall and condigne punishment before the supream Judicatories of the Kingdoms respectively, and the Kingdom of *Scotland* hath equall right and interest with the Kingdom of *England* in the disposall of the Person of the King, which they cannot pretend unto concerning the Person of any Subject of *England*.

Object. 5. *That seeing it is alleadged by us, that the disposing of the Kings Person comes in place of a Peace, then the receiving of the King into the Scottish Army without consent of the Houses, is equivalent to the making of a Peace, without consent of the Kingdome of England, contrary to the eight Article of the Treaty.*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. It hath been sufficiently answered before, that the Scottish Armie neither hath nor will take upon them to dispose of the King. He came unto them without Capitulation or Treaty, his residence with them is voluntary and free, and they do nothing which may hinder him to come to his Houses of Parliament. But if the kingdome of *Scotland* should consent to the desire of the Houses, that they may have the sole disposall of the Person of the King, It being that which comes in the place of the Peace and security of both kingdoms, they will really quite the right and interest they have by the eight Article of the Treaty, concerning the making of a Peace; for which soever of the kingdoms is acknowledged to have the sole disposall



disposall of the King, may without the other make Peace with him, when, how, and in what termes they please.

*Object. 6. That England is a free Nation, and in former times it was in the power of the Parliament of England to dispose of their Kings, And if one Kingdome pretend to a joynt right of disposing of the King, while he is in the other, it is to entrench upon the former liberty of that Kingdome. That the Kingdom of Scotland have no reason to distrust the Houses of Parliament, who when the King shall be in their power, will not dispose of him otherwise then may consist with their duty, according to the Covenant and Treary between the Kingdoms.*

*Ans.* We will not dispute what power the Houses of Parliament formerly had to dispose of the person of their King; but whatsoever power or right they have, the like is due to the Parliament of Scotland and to the Person of the King being common to both and indivisible, cannot be disposed of, but by consent of both kingdomes. It were another question indeed, if it were as in former times, if we had different Kings, if there were not an Union of the kingdoms under one head & Monarch, if there were neither Covenant nor Treary between the kingdomes; But since all these are, and that the peace and security of both kingdoms, is so much concerned in the disposall of the King; not any one of them without the other, can justly pretend to the sole judgement and right, to determine what is best and most expedient for the safety & security of both. Nor can it in reason be made an argument that the one kingdome distrusts the other, because the one will not renounce and resigne all right and interest they have in the person of the King, and matter of their own security and peace, to the judgement and determination of the other; otherwise, according to this Argument,

where

where there is any trust, there should be no contract between person and person, nor Treaty between Nations; Or if there be any Treaty or agreement, the performance or not performance of it is to be left to arbitrement. But we cannot see that this doth argue any diffidence or distrust more then when private persons lending money to the Publike, desire security, and will not depend upon pleasure; And therefore, though it is not to be questioned, but the Houses of Parliament would dispose of the Person of the King, so as might consist with their durie, in performing the Covenant and Treaty; Yet, this can be no Argument why the Scottish Army should neglect their durie, or the Kingdom of Scotland quite the Interest and Right they have in the Person of the King.

*Object. 7. That the King is in the possession of the Scottish Armie, and though a joynt advice and consent of both Kingdoms be urged for his disposall; Yet if the Houses of Parliament agree not to what Scotland shall desire, the King doth still remaine in the power of the Scots Army, and so the Parliament of England hath no consent.*

*Answ.* If this Argument were turned over, the strength or weakenesse of it may the more easily appeare: Suppose the King were here at *Westminster*, it may be upon the same grounds urged, that the Kingdom of Scotland would have no consent in his disposall; And so much the more that the Houses claime the sole Interest and judgement to dispose upon the Kings Person, which we desire may be done joyntly, as may be best for the security and safety of both Kingdomes. And we see no reason, why it may not now be determined when he is in the Scottish Army (who are intrusted by both, and subject to the resolution of both Kingdoms) as well as hereafter, since he came thither

thither of his owne accord, and his residence there is voluntarie. And if his Majesty shall think fit to repair hither to his Houses of Parliament, they shall doe no act which may either hinder or dissuade him, but cannot constrain him, or deliver him to the Houses to be disposed of as they shall thinke fit.

It may now abundantly appeare from the grounds and considerations before exprest, that the Scottish Armie may not deliver up his Majesties Person, to be disposed of by the one Kingdome, without the consent of the other; Upon supposition whereof, we shall in the next place (without presuming to prescribe wayes, or impose conditions) expresse our selves concerning some expedients, which in reference to his Majesty, deserve to be looked upon, considered of, and compared together; where wee shall onely premise this much, That whatever way shall be taken, if the right end be looked at, his Majesties person ought to be so disposed of, as may serve most for the safety and happinesse of the King himselfe, and for the common Peace and security of the Kingdomes, United in this Cause by the solemne League and Covenant; And, as may best agree with their dutie, Covenant and Treaties.

These ends being before our eyes, although it be most eligible, and best of all, that His Majesty should without further delay, forthwith give satisfaction in the Propositions of Peace (which hath been with all instancy pressed, not onely by us, but by all the judicatories of the Kingdom of Scotland) and so returne fully reconciled to His Houses of Parliament; Yet since (to our unspeakable griefe) this hath not been as yet obtained: We doe propose that His Majesties coming to London, or to some of his houses near London, with safety, freedome and honour (which



is desired by himself, that he may be heard, And that upon the clearing of his doubts, he may knowingly give a satisfactorie answer to the Propositions) is much better then the other wayes, which may be expected in case this His Majesties desire be not agreed unto. As for His Majesties going to Ireland, or other-where beyond Sea, It could not be the way to a present peace now so much desired; but would certainly prognosticate new troubles. Lastly, his Majesties comming hither, or neare this place, is a more probable and hopefull way to preserve the Union of the Kingdomes, because the enemy being still in Armes in Scotland, and expecting supplies from Ireland, and the kingdome disabled by their great sufferings to entertaine an Army for suppressing the Malignant party, It were much more easie to raise new Forces there to the disturbance of the peace of this kingdome, then it could be here, where (by the blessing of God) all the Forces and Garrisons of the enemy are subdued; and where it will not be so difficult to hinder Delinquents from accesse to his Majesty. The dangers and inconveniencies of any of these other wayes, doe so much preponderate, and the present condition of affaires doth so much differ from that time, when both Houses with our concurrence did disagree from His Majesties desire of comming to London (at which time he had both Garrisons and field Forces unreduced) that it may be conceived not onely safe, but (as things stand) most convenient; to agree to His Majesties coming to London or near it, upon such conditions & assurances from him, as shall be by joynt resolution found necessary for preventing the accesse of delinquents to His Majestie, or an intestine commotion, or forraine invasion, to the disturbance of the peace of either Kingdome.

We.

We trust it might accelerate a happy peace, bring the present differences to an end, and be no griefe of heart afterwards, if upon such termes and conditions, both Houses should be pleased to revive and renew such an invitation and assurance upon their part, as was contained in their Answer to His Majesties Message of the 11. of Septemb. 1642. where, after mention made of their chief grievance, it was added: *All this notwithstanding, as we never gave your Majestie any just cause of withdrawing your selfe from your great Councell, So it hath ever been and shall ever be far from us to give any impediment to your returne, or to neglect any proper meanes of curing the distempers of the Kingdome, and closing the dangerous breaches betwixt your Majestie and your Parliament, according to the great trust which lies upon us. And if your Majestie shall now be pleased to come back to your Parliament without your Forces, we shall be ready to secure your Royall Person, Crown, and dignitie with our lives and fortunes; Your presence in this great Councell, being the onely meanes of any Treaty betwixt your Majesty and them with hope of successe.* Divers such passages there are in the Declarations of both Houses, which we shall not need to mention.

But if the Houses of Parliament shall not agree to his Majesties desire of comming hither with safety, freedome, and honour: We offered to be considered in the next place; whether it be not expedient, that once again Commissioners be sent to his Majesty in name of both Kingdomes, with power to heare his desires, and to endeavour the satisfaction of doubts and scruples; with intimation also, That if his Majesty shall not give satisfaction in the Propositions, both Kingdomes will without any more such applications, consult and joyntly resolve upon other wayes of their safety and security. And upon the other

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part

part, that if His Majesty will be now at last graciously pleased, to satisfie the desires of both Kingdoms, His Majesties Throne, with his just power and grearnesse, shall be established, aswel as the peace and security of his Subjects.

All which we doe propound in a brotherly freedome, not being peremtorily wedded or addicted to any expedient that we have offered; but, if the honourable Houses in their wisdom, shall be pleased to think of any other expedient, which shall be for the good, safety, and honour of the King and Kingdomes, We shall be most willing and ready to agree unto it, when it shall be made known unto us, not doubting but that in the faithfull and conscionable use of all good and possible meanes, which may prevent differences between the Kingdomes, there will be at last a sweet and brotherly agreement in such a conclusion, as shall be good in Gods eyes, and wherein both Kingdomes shall finde greatest comfort and happinesse.

*By command of the Commissioners for  
the Parliament of Scotland.*

*Jo. Cheiflie.*

**FINIS.**



20. Octob. 1646. *From the Commissioners for the Parliament of Scotland.*

**H**AVING received the Votes of both Houses of the 24. of September, declaring that whatsoever conference, consultation or debate shall be with the Commissioners of *Scotland*, concerning the disposal of the Person of the King, it shall not be understood to be any capitulation, in relation to the retarding of the march of the Scottish Army out of this Kingdom, or of any Treaty between the Kingdoms concerning the same. And being desired to give an answer hereunto, before we entered upon the conference; As we did then, so we do now again declare, That our conference, consultation, or debate with the Honourable Houses, concerning the disposal of the Person of the King, shall not retard or be any hinderance to the march of the Scottish Army out of this Kingdom, or to any Treaty concerning the same. And that it may be manifest how sensible we are of the unnecessary burthens continued in this Kingdom, by keeping Armies on foot after the Warre is at end; And that it may fully and clearly appear, how really it is desired by the Scottish Army, that without delay they may march out of this Kingdom, with the same affection and cheerfulness that they came in for the assistance of their Brethren; And to the end all jealousies, mistakes, or misunderstandings of our intentions may be removed, we do further declare, That we are willing and ready to meet with such as the honourable Houses shall appoint, and within 24. hours to agree concerning the time and place of the payment of the 200000. pounds, and the security to be given for the other; And to appoint a day wherein our Forces shall march out of the Town and Castle of New-castle, out of Tinnmouth Castle, Harlepool, Stockton, Thirlwall, and all other places within this Kingdom (Berwick and Carlisle being disposed of, according to the respective Treaties between the Kingdoms) and likewise for marching of our Army out of this Kingdom: Which, in regard the Winter doth fast approach, and for other important reasons, we earnestly desire may be with all possible expedition; And for this end, that the money may be speedily sent unto them; for the sooner they shall receive it, the more acceptable it will be, and give the greater satisfaction, and the impoverished and exhausted Countrey will be the sooner eased. And since the cause of their stay and continuance in this Kingdom, is not upon their part, and that for these six months past they have received no pay, whereby they are exceedingly straitned in their quarters, and the Northern parts where they remain, greatly overburthened: We do earnestly intreat, that in the mean time (with the 5000. l. at *Northingham* already accounted unto them) some competent proportion of money may be sent unto the Army for their necessary entertainment; Or otherwise, they will be forced to enlarge their quarters for the ease of the Countrey. In all which we are the more desirous to come to a close, that within few daies some of our number must repair to the Scottish Army, and from thence to the Parliament of *Scotland* (which is to sit the second of *November* next) to give an account of our proceedings. And therefore we do earnestly intreat the speedy answer of the honourable Houses.

20. Octob. 1646.

By Command of the Commissioners  
for the Parliament of Scotland.

Jo. Chislie.

24. Octob.

24. Octob. 1646. From the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

Right Honourable,

IT is very well known to the honourable Houses, that the Scottish Army receiving no pay for these six months past, hath been forced to take free quarter from the Country people; whereby the Northern Counties have been extremely exhausted and impoverished, and the necessities of that Army in a great measure unsupplied, we had rest & satisfied that these things had been already represented to both Houses of Parliament, & that the inconveniences which might follow thereupon, were sufficiently understood; But being advertised by several Letters of the growing necessities of the Army, and the insupportable burthen of those parts where they do quarter: for our further exoneration and preventing the great dangers that may ensue; we have judged it necessary to acquaint the honourable Houses, that it is rumored abroad in the Northern parts, that the Countrey people have a designe to surprize and injure our Forces, as they lie dispersed in their several quarters. It were a matter of no great difficulty for the Scottish Army, in a forcible manner to prevent or suppress any such insurrection; But they have resolved to prefer the publike good, and a happy correspondence between the Kingdoms, to their owne safety: In pursuance whereof, they have written Letters to the Committee of *Yorkshire* and other Counties, earnestly desiring their concurrence to prevent such inconveniences, as may endanger the Peace and Union betwixt the Kingdoms: And have given direction to the general Officers of the Army, to confer with the Gentlemen of the Countrey, and to use their utmost endeavours, to remove all Jealousies and Mistakes; And particularly to acquaint them how earnestly desirous they are, and have been for above these two moneths past, to remove out of this Kingdom, and return to their native Countrey. Upon which considerations, it is our renewed earnest request to the honourable Houses, that the sum of 200000*l.* may be speedily raised and sent to the Army, and the security for the other agreed upon, that they may forthwith march out of this Kingdom; Or otherwise, that in the mean time, some course may be taken for supplying that Army, and easing of the Countrey until the money be raised, whereby the great danger that is like to arise, to the disturbance of the peace betwixt the Kingdoms, may be prevented. For if the Scottish Army shall be forced to enlarge their quarters Southward; and in the mean time Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army (as we are informed) do enlarge their quarters Northward, into those harrassed & exhausted Counties; it is easie to foresee, that these Kingdoms may unhappily be again embroyled into new and greater troubles then they have yet seen. And what great advantage will be given to Forraign Nations, to make use of our divided interests, to the ruine of both? All which out of the conscience of our duty, and sincere affection to the peace and happines of these Kingdoms, we have thought our selves bound timeously to make known: And against all jealousies and misapprehensions, to give perfect and full assurance, that whatsoever reports or suggestions there may be to the contrary, no perswasion, terror, plot, nor combination, shall ever be able directly or indirectly, to divide or withdraw the Kingdom of *Scotland* from a firm conjunction with this Kingdom; But as they have done hitherto, so for the future shall continue in pursuance of the ends of our solemn League and Covenant, against

against all opposition whether forraine or intestine, and to promote and settle the Peace of both Kingdomes: Being very confident that the Honourable Houses in their wisdom will seriously apply themselves to the effectuall means, for preventing the dangers and evils represented; for hastening the return of our Army and satisfying all our just desires, for settling the Peace of these Kingdomes, which, with constant zeal and fervent affection, shall ever be faithfully endeavoured by.

Worcester House the  
24. Octob. 1646.

For the Right Honourable  
the Speaker of the House  
of Peers pro tempore.

Your Lordships most humble Servants,

Lowdown. Lauderdale.

A. Johnston Charles Erskine.

Hugh Kennedy.

R. Barclay.



29. October, 1646.

From the Commissioners for the Parliament of Scotland.

Right Honourable,

U Pon the eleventh of August wee did declare how desirous the Kingdome of Scotland was of the easing of the burthens and pressures of this Nation, and their willingnesse forthwith to surrender the Garisons, and recal their Army out of this Kingdom, reasonable satisfaction being given for their pains and charges. And after the honorable Houses had resolved upon the wayes and means for their satisfaction, we were pressed by them to come to a speedy agreement concerning the particular time of the removal of our Army out of this Kingdom; which was insisted upon with so much earnestnesse, as at the Conference in September last, it was required, that we should declare, That our consultation about the disposing of the King, should be no hinderance to the marching of our Army out of this Kingdom, or to any Treaty concerning the same: To which, we did not onely willingly assent, but have since declared, That we were ready within four and twenty hours to agree concerning the time and place of the payment of the first 200000 l. and the security to be given for the other; and to appoint a day for the delivery of the Garisons, and marching of our Army out of this Kingdom. For above these six moneths past, no money hath been sent to our Army, nor hath any course been taken for their maintenance during that time, but they have been forced to quarter upon the Northern Counties, of whose sufferings we have been so sensible, That there was no mean could occur to us, which might afford them relief, but we have from time to time represented the same to the honorable Houses: And we may from certain knowledge and with confidence say, That for above these two moneths past, the Northern Counties have been no more desirous to be eased of their pressures, then the Scottish Army hath been to remove out of this Kingdom, and return to their native Countrey. All which notwithstanding, we do perceive that our malicious enemies will never give over to calumniate



even our best actions, and most faithful endeavours, and for their own base ends, to foment and increase jealousies and differences between the Kingdoms, as may appear by a printed declaration here enclosed, which we find to be so full of wicked spite, bitter invectives, and detestable lies against the Scottish Army, & so directly aiming to stir up a dis-affection in the people against that Nation and Army; as we could not but present it to the view of the honorable Houses, earnestly desiring them seriously to consider, how they would construct of it, if Diurnals and Pamphlets of this kind were daily licensed in the kingdom of *Scotland*, to be printed against the English Nation or Army, and no course taken for their vindication, but rather all Papers which may clear their proceedings, denied to be licensed, or stopped and suppressed. We did long since in our Paper of the eleventh of August, expresse our confidence, that the honourable Houses in their wisdom and justice would take some course to prevent such vile abuses for the future; and have ever since been expecting to hear of their resolutions for a speedy redresse. But having perceived that the patience of the Houses hath animated the Authors of such Pamphlets, to return to their former boldnes; we are necessitated to renew our former desires, being still confident, that if the honourable Houses could spare but a little time from their greater affairs, upon the perusal and consideration of a few of the Diurnals and Pamphlets that are almost daily published to the World, their wisdom and affection would never bear with so many base calumnies and reproachful aspersions, as are therein cast upon their Brethren of *Scotland*, with whom they are tyed by so many bonds and mutual obligations. We shall not further insist upon this business, expecting upon what is already represented, to receive speedy satisfaction; not doubting also, but that the honourable Houses will in their wisdom and civility, give order that the speeches of the Lord Chancellour of *Scotland*, lately seized on at the Presse, (and which were by him discharged to be published till the conference was reported to the Houses) shall be returned unto us. And to end a happy correspondence with love and amity may be inviolably preserved between the Kingdoms, we do again earnestly desire, That all inconveniences by approaching of Armies may be prevented; that some course be taken for the present maintenance of the Scottish Army, and ease of the Northern parts; Or, which we much rather desire, that the 200000. l. may be forthwith provided and sent to that Army; and without further delay, that a day may be agreed on for the delivery of the Garrisons, and marching of our Army out of this Kingdom, that after all these troubles and heave pressures of both Kingdoms, they may at last enjoy the fruits of their labours, A happy Peace, which is the earnest desire of

Worcester House the 29.  
of Octob. 1646.

Your Lordships most humble Servants,

For the Right Honourable  
the Speaker of the House  
of Peers, pro tempore.

Lowdown. Lauderdaile.  
Charles Erskine.  
Hugh Kennedy.  
Rob. Barclay.

19  
SEVERALL  
SPEECHES,

Spoken by the Right HONOURABLE

The Earle of LONDON,

Lord high Chancellour of the Kingdome  
of SCOTLAND:

AT

*A Conference with a Committee of the  
Honourable Houses in the Painted  
Chamber, October 1646.*

Proverbs 25. 11.

*A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in  
pictures of silver.*



EDINBURGH:

*Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the  
Kings most Excellent Majesty. 1646.*

These Speeches from their length, importance,  
and ability they display, might entitle his lordships  
to a place in the "Catalogue of Royal & Noble Authors."



Good Reader,

**I** Understand that the right Honourable the Lord Chancellour of  
Scotland had not right done him by the printed Copie of his  
Speech to the Kings Majestie at *New-castle*, concerning the Pro-  
positions of Peace, there being in that Copie Errours and Omissi-  
ons, and both material; which hath moved me to resolve, as to print  
the former according to the true Copie, so for preventing the like mi-  
stakes and mis-representations, first to procure to my self, and now to  
communicate to the publike view, the true transcripts of these last  
three Speeches: In which thou shalt find the merit of an excellent sub-  
ject to speak for it self, for thou hast here a most solid, judicious, can-  
did, and plain debate, concerning the best and most hopeful means of  
attaining a speedy and happy Peace, which may put a period to the  
lasting miseries of these three Kingdoms: Read and confiden, and  
beware thou do not receive with the left hand what is reached forth  
with the right; This Noble Lord hath dealt freely and faithfully  
both with King and Parliament; and, as Truth and plain dealing  
did appear in his Speeches, so what he spake is here faithfully  
imparted; and thou maist be confident, that in this it holds true,  
Τὰ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ ἐστὶν οὗ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ περιημείων συμβολα, καὶ τὰ χαρόμενα οὗ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ

*Thine to serve thee for the Publike good,*

G. A.



The Lord Chancellour of *Scotland* his first Speech: At a Conference  
in the Painted Chamber with a Committe of both  
Houses, Octob. 1. 1646.

My Lords and Gentlemen,



He end of this Conference is to advise what is fit to be done for the Peace and Security of the Kingdomes in relation to the King, and how to dispose of his Majesties Person, which is a matter very ticklish, and of most high concernment; and they who would build very high, must dig very low for a firm foundation: And therefore I shall make bold to desire, That what ever we resolve upon concerning the Kings Majesty, it may be done by joint advice and consent of both Kingdoms, and that the Unity between the Kingdomes may be inviolably preserved, as that wherein (next to Gods protection) the chief strength of both lies, which would be laid as a ground of our future debates. And because the purpose we are to speak of is very grave and serious, I shall speak of it with that sincerity, as I wish my words were written with the beams of the Sun, and registred to posterity, that all the world might see the candor and integrity of our proceedings towards the King and our Brethren of *England*. And (as I had occasion once to expresse in this place) so do I now say, That no man hath consciencie nor honour who will not remember our solemn League and Covenant, as the strongest bond under heaven between God and man, between man and man, and between Nation and Nation, in which our Unity is founded upon Verity in a threefold relation; to God, to the King, and amongst our selves. The first is the greatest, and ascends as high as heaven: for *Religion*, which hath its name a *religando*, unites us to God himself: and so long as he is in League with us, we need not fear who be against us. Let us therefore hold fast our Unity in Religion, and beware of Toleration of all Religions, which is the ready way to have none; for there is nothing more divine in God then Unitie, and nothing more Diabolical in the Divell then Division, who therefore is known to the vulgar by his cloven foot to be the spirit of Division.

The next ground and relation of our Unity, is with the King, to whom we are bound (in the strictest bonds of loyall Subjection) by our Allegiance and Covenant, as to one Head and Monarch: and therefore the faithfull endeavours of both Kingdoms should (without wearying) be constantly contributed, That we may be united to him by a happy and just Peace: For if one of the Kingdoms shall cast off the King, and the other have a King; if the one shall make Peace with the King, and the other not make Peace, but be still at variance with him, it is to be feared, that no humane wit nor policie will be able to keep the two Kingdoms long without a rupture; And if it please God so to incline the Kings heart, and direct the wisdom of the Parliaments, as that the King and wee could make a happy agreement, no power or policie can be able to divide us; for, *Quia conveniunt uniti, conveniunt in se*.

The third ground and relation of our Unitie, is the conjunction of the two Kingdoms, which hath been acknowledged to be so necessary and usefull to both,  
That

Numerus  
Binarius  
infamis est  
quia pri-  
mus ausus  
est disce-  
dere ab u-  
nitate.

That they have often declared, they would stand and fall, and (like *Hippocrates* twins) live and dye together. And therefore, as we regard our solemn Covenant with God Almighty, and tender the standing and safety of the Kingdoms, let us (with one heart and mind) joyn our Counsels and Actions. That whatsoever we resolve upon for our common Peace and Security in relation to the King, and of each Kingdom to other, that to be done in zeal to Religion, in loyalty to the King, and with unanimity amongst our selves. And as the Pythagoreans did note the number of Two with the mark of infamy, as being the first number that durst part from Unity; so, which soever of the Kingdoms shall first violate the Unity which is bound up in our Covenant, may apply it to themselves: but if we shall adhere to that Unity which is builded upon the firm foundation of Verity, in our relations to Religion, the King, and amongst our selves, it will be a three-fold cord which is not easily broken; and our Unity, I hope, shall be turned into an Identity, both Kingdoms may be perfectly one.

Having thus in the first place laid a ground for Unity of Counsels and Resolutions, I shall in the next place humbly desire and protest, That what-ever may be our Propositions or Debates concerning the King, it be not mis-constructed, as if one of the Kingdoms were imposing conditions upon the other, or that we are absolutely wedded to any one desire more then to another; but that (all severall waies being amicably debated and rightly pondered,) That which may serve most for the safety, security and happinesse of the King and both Kingdoms, may be gravely resolved upon. And now I come to the Question it self, concerning the disposing of His Maj. sties Person; first Negatively, and then Positively. Negatively, the Question is not of the power and authoritie of the Houses of Parliament in disposing of any person, or judging of any case which is of single concernment to *England*: Nor is the Question how the Kings Person may be disposed of *de facto* by any one of the Kingdoms; neither is the Question properly *de jure & posse*, but *de esse, & bene esse*: And as it is neither good Logick nor good Divinity to argue *a posse ad esse*; so sure I am, in this case it is far worse policie for either Kingdome to dispute what they may do in the height of their power, when both are consulting what is fittest to be done for the Peace and Security of both. And the relation of both Kingdoms to his Majesty, and of each Kingdome to other being rightly considered, as he is King to both, as both are Subjects to him, as both are engaged in the same Cause, and have been in the same War, and are labouring under the same Danger, are seeking the same Remedies, and should have the same Security; we do hold, that the disposing of the Kings Person doth not properly belong to any one of the Kingdoms, but joyntly to both. And after *Scotland* hath suffered the heat of the day and winters cold, have forsaken their own peace for love of their Brethren, have set their own house on fire to quench theirs: After so much expence of their blood in all the three Kingdoms, after we have gone along with you in all the hardship of this War, and (without vanity be it spoken) have been so usefull in this Cause: And that the King hath cast himself into the hands of the Scottish Army, and that by the blessing of God upon the joynt indeavour of both Kingdoms we are come to the harbour of a peace; We cannot expect, that the honourable Houses will think it agreeable with conscience or honour, or with the justice of the Houses, that the Person of the King should be disposed of by them as they shall think fit, or by any one of the kingdoms alone; but that what ever shall be resolved in this, may be done by joynt advice of both, as may serve most for the peace, security, and happinesse of both Kingdoms.

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*The Lord Chancelour of Scotland his second Speech: At a Conference in the Painted Chamber, with a Committee of both Houses, Octob. 6. 1646.*

AT our last meeting in this conference, your Lordships did assert the Vote of the Houses, That the Person of the King should be disposed on as the two Houses shall think fit: And we did hold, that the King, who is the Head and Monarch of both Kingdomes, ought not to be disposed of by any one of the Kingdoms, but by joynt advice of both, as might serve most for the peace, happinesse, and security of his Majesty and both kingdoms, which we fortified with severall arguments from the interests and relations which both Kingdoms have equally to the King, and from the covenant and treaty between the Kingdoms, as the best way to preserve our Unity. But since your Lordships do adhere to the Vote of the Houses, as that which you cannot part from, We do humbly desire, that your Lordships may be pleased (in time convenient, at the close of this conference) to report the difference of our judgement to the honourable Houses, who upon better reasons both may, and (we hope) will take their Vote into further consideration: And so with reservation of our judgement, that the disposing of his Majesties person doth belong to both; and not to any one of the Kingdoms, especially in such a juncture of affairs, as both Kingdoms stand engaged in this cause; I shall descend particularly how the Kings Person should be disposed of to the best advantage of both Kingdoms, and for attaining such a happy peace as all good men should desire. But lest we should walke in the dark upon obscurity of ambiguous words, I shall desire that the word of disposing of the Kings person may be rightly understood, and the true sense of it may be clearly known: For, *Do us versatur in univer(alibus*. For, *To dispose of the Kings person, as both Houses, or both Kingdoms shall think fit*, may in some sense be to depose, or worse: But because the word [*Dispose*] may admit a more benigne interpretation, as when men commit their estates and children, or that which is dearest to them to be disposed of, (which is but to be advised) by these who have nearest relation to them, and in whom they repose most trust: I shall speak of the disposing of his Majesties royal person in that sense, (which I hope) is also the sense of the Houses. Nor do I know any other way how his Majesties person can be disposed of, but that he be put either under restraint, or be at freedom with honour and safety. As for the way of restraint, I look upon it as it looks upon us, as a remedy more dangerous then the disease, & as a mean to draw the war of forain Kings upon us (especially the Prince being in other Kingdoms) rather then to quiet our troubles at home. And therefore supposing that none of the Kingdoms will take any way concerning his Majesties person, but such as may consist with duty and honour, and which may lessen, and not encrease our troubles, I shall lay aside the way of restraint, and speak of the way which may be with freedom, honour and safety, which can be no other, but that his Majesty shall go into *Scotland*, or come to his Parliament here, or some of his houses near-about.

His going into *Scotland* is full of dangers and inconveniencies to both Kingdoms: The *Amalekites* are not yet driven out of that I land. The bloody barbarous *Irish*, banded with a wicked crew of Malignants, possesse the mountains and highlands, which are the strong holds, and never conquered parts of that Kingdom.

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They have not laid down arms, but keep in a body together, and they are so near Ireland, as the Forces of the Rebels there may in two or three houres space come over and joyn with them: and (Scotland) not being able to keep and entertain Armies long, the King being there, may raise such forces in Scotland, as may make way quickly into England. And therefore his Majesties going into Scotland (before our peace be settled) being of most dangerous consequence to both Kingdoms, I shall humbly offer to your Lordships consideration his Majesties comming to London, or some of his houses hereabouts, as the most probable way to procure a speedy and happy agreement, which is also his Majesties own desire in his Answer to the Propositions. And although no perswasion of ours could prevaile to procure a more satisfactory answer for the time, then what is returned to the Houses of Parliament, yet (I assure your Lordships) that the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, and the Noblemen, who were at Newcastle, did faithfully contribute their best endeavours, that his Majesty might have given his assent to the Propositions: And, as we did then deliver our minds with that plainnesse and freedom which was fit for faithfull and loyal Subjects, with no lesse regard to this Kingdom, then our own Nation; so are we now (with the same candor and tenderesse of affection) willing and ready to concurre with the honourable Houses in every thing which may promote the great work of Reformation; and settle Religion according to the Covenant with a well grounded peace. And for these ends, we desire, that his Majesties answer may be improved to the best advantage of the publick.

For albeit the King hath not given a present assent to the Propositions, yet he hath not in his answer refused them; but doth promise, That he will cheerfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bills (at the desire of the two Houses) and reasonable demands for Scotland, which shall be really for the good and peace of his people: To which end he desireth and proposeth, that he may come to London (or any of his houses thereabouts) upon security, That he shall be there with honour, freedome, and safety, as the best expedient to procure a happy agreement between his Majesty and his Parliament, which we desire may be weighed in the ballance of righteous judgement, as a businesse of the greatest consequence which can fall within humane consideration, and wherein the glory of God is most concerned of any businesse under heaven. For upon a blessed agreement between the King and his Parliament, Religion and Righteousnesse, Truth and Peace, which are the compend and height of all happinesse will be established, to the eternall fame and glory of great Britain, and the great comfort of all the Protestant churches: And upon our disagreement, all the calamities of a bloody and unnaturall war, will be continued, and nothing heard nor seen in church nor state but confusion. God hath brought both Kingdomes through the luges and waves of a boisterous tempest, into the harbour of a peace, and hath scattered most part of our Enemies, & now our work is how to come a-shore, & establish a right peace. I hope, it is as far from our desires and intentions, as it is against our Covenant and Professions, to change fundamentall government. We have need to take heed that we run not from one extreame into another; *Dum stulti vitant vitia, in contraria currunt*: Therefore our study would be how to cure the wound which our sins and the evill counsels of others have made between the King and his Parliament to make up the breach, and not make it wider.

It hath been universally acknowledged, That the Kings removall from his Parliament

liament is the immediate and chiefe cause of all the war, milchiefe, and calamities of the kingdomes: Then his Majesties presence in joyning with his Parliament must be the best, if not the onely remedy to remove our troubles, for it is a maxime no lesse true then common, that *Contraries have contrary consequents.*

*Contrarium contraria sunt consequentia.*

The King desires to come to his Parliament, not onely to have his doubts cleared, and have these difficulties explzined which hinder his consent to the Propositions as they now stand: But likewise that his coming may raise a mutuall confidence between him and his Parliament: If the last were done, the first would soon be performed, and all those mountaines of difficulties would easily be removed, and become valleys.

Your Commissioners had no power to give any reasons; nor not so much as tell what is the meaning of any of your demands; nor hearken to any desire of the Kings, And certainly some things might be justly moved by his Majesty, which are necessary for the Crowne and a well grounded Peace, as, That he may have his Revenues, That he may returne with honour and safety to his crowne and government; And if the King were with his Parliament, where hee might both give and receive satisfaction, he might with reason be convinced, to assent to what hee now conceives to be unreasonable.

The making of a peace, is so great and glorious a worke, and so acceptable to all good men, and to the whole people, that it would (after so great trouble) be like raine to the new mowne grasse, or like a resurrection from the dead, and is a worke worthy of a Kings presence: And the King may without arrogancy desire that glory to himselfe, the more to reingratiate him to his people, and not devolve that honour wholly to any other, wherein he himselfe ought to be the prime Actor: And therefore the Kings presence with his Parliament is the most probable way to attaine to a speedy and blessed peace, which certainly will be the more durable, if it be with the good liking of both sides.

I know there is one common objection (and I know not another) wherewith many are posselt and prejudiced against the Kings coming to his Parliament, That his presence may breed division, and that he may thereafter withdraw and continue our troubles. *Unity and Concord* (I confesse) is that by which Kingdoms and Common-wealths do flourish, and there is nothing more dangerous then division, *Concordia enim res parva cresunt, discordia vero maximæ dilabuntur.* But is there any greater or more dangerous division, then to have the Head divided from the body, to have the King divided from his Parliament, the representative body of the kingdom, whereof he is the Head? Hath not this division divided brother against brother, the father against the son, and the son against the father, and Countrey against countrey? This division is the cause of all our other divisions; Take this away and all our other divisions are at an end. *Ablata causa tollitur effectus.* The King doth (with all earnestnesse) desire to be joyned with you, and stands more in need of reconciliation, and I hope will (according to his profession) endeavour it rather then division; And (I trust) the wisdom of the honourable Houses is such as they will doe so too, and rather be reconciled to the King, then divide amongst our selves. And that argument, not to admit of the Kings coming to his Parliament, because his presence may breed division, is an argument to debarre him perpetually from his Parliament. And now the case is altered from what it was, when it was thought unfit, that the King should come to his Parliament, because then he had forces in the fields, garisons and strong holds to return to:

Now he hath none of these against you, And his desire of coming to his Parliament, cannot be but with resolution to agree and stay with you, for if he were once with you, where can he go from you? And if they were esteemed enemies to the Parliament and the peace of the kingdoms, who advised the King to withdraw from his Parliament, what estimation will the world have of them, who will not suffer him to returne to his Parliament, when he offers to cast himselfe in your armies? Nor can there be a more reall testimony of our respect and affection to *England*, then that we desire he may be with you, and be advised by you, neither can you have any greater honour, then that (after you have dissipated your Enemies) his Majesty is willing to returne to you, And if so kind an offer shall be refused, and the King driven to despaire, it is to be feared, these kingdoms will be involved in greater difficulties then ever, and we shal be driven out of the harbour and entrance of a peace, into the tempest of new and bloody wars.

For although *Scotland* be most willing and desirous that the King should return to his Parliament with honour, safety, and freedom, and that he may remaine where his personal presence may serve most for the security and happinesse of his people; yet if any such course shall be taken, or any demand made for rendring of his person, which cannot stand with his honour and safety, or which cannot consist with our duty, allegiance and covenant, nor with the honour of that Army, to whom (in time of his extreme danger) he had his recourse for safety; it cannot be expected that we can be capable of so base an Act. And if (to shun this, and avoid occasion of quarrelling between the Kingdomes) he shall go to *Scotland*, and resent his expulsion out of *England*, and crave the assistance of that kingdom, for recovery of his right to his crowne; He may in a short time raise such Forces in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as with the assistance of Foraine Princes, these kingdoms may be made a field of bloud, and the youngest amongst us not live to see the end of these unnaturall wars. But if the present opportunity be wisely mannaged, and that we maintain the just priviledges of Parliament and liberty of the Subject in both kingdoms, with that wisdom and discretion, as that may be given to God which is Gods, and to *Cesar* what is *Cesars*, if we feare God and the King, and doe not meddle with them who are given to change, That same divine providence and wisdom which hath brought us through many difficulties, will also teach us how to establish these kingdoms in peace, and the Kings Throne in righteousness, That the great blessing of a constant and friendly conjunction of the two kingdoms (now united by allegiance and loyall subjection to one Sovereigne and Head) may be firmly observed and continued to all posterity.

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The Lord Chancellour of *Scotland* his last speech, at a conference in the Painted chamber, with a Committee of both Houses, *October* 10. 1646.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

THIS day I hope will bring our conference to some results to be reported to the Houses, and therefore I shall frame my Discourse and Arguments with that succinctnesse as may bring us soonest to a close.

At our first meeting, the subject of our debate was, Whether the Right & Power of



of disposing the person of the King, is solely in the two Houses, as they shall think fit, or in the two Kingdoms; and at our last meeting, we had some arguing about the same question, but your Lordships did still assert the Vote of the Houses; and we say (in respect of the interest and relations which both Kingdoms have equally to the King, especially in the present juncture of affairs, when both Kingdoms are entred in the same league and covenant, have jeopardied their lives in the same war, are labouring under the same danger, are seeking the same remedies, and stand in need of the same peace and security; and both Kingdoms are bound by our *Covenant* to preserve Unity, and are obliged by Treaty that none of us shall make any peace, cessation, or agreement whatsoever, without mutuall advice and consent of both) That the person of the King cannot be disposed of without the joint advice and consent of both Kingdoms. But as we do acknowledge that *England* hath parity of interest with *Scotland*, so do we still offer that they shall have parity of power in disposing of the King: and we do affirm, that the person of the King, who is King of *Scotland* as well as of *England*, and is Head and Monarch of both kingdoms, cannot be disposed of by any one of the kingdoms alone: but what ever is to be done concerning the disposing of his Majesties person, ought to be done by joynt advice and common consent of both, as may serve most for the Peace, security, and happinesse of the King and Kingdomes, which we did prove by severall Arguments: To which there was nothing answered in effect, but, that the King being within *England*, his person was to be disposed of as the two Houses shall thinke fit, and that the King being with the Scottish Army, and they being paid by the Parliament of *England*, he is in effect in the power of the Houses, and ought to be at their disposing, in the same way as if he had come to the army of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, or any other of the Parliaments armies. To which we shall not need to make any reply other then we have made already, That the Kings present residence in *England*, nor no locality, can take away the reality of our relations formerly mentioned by us, far lesse can it take away the engagements and stipulations between the kingdoms; and though the Scottish army be paid by the Parliament of *England*, yet they are the Army of *Scotland*, raised for pursuance of the ends of the *Covenant*, and are to be ordered and directed by the Parliaments or committees of both kingdoms: and therefore they cannot with conscience, duty, nor honour, deliver the person of the King without his own consent, to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit: but we have declared, and do still declare, that we are content that the person of the King be disposed of (the word Disposed being taken in a right sense) as may serve most for the peace, safety, security, honour and happinesse of the King and both kingdoms: and did offer to your Lordships consideration his Majesties comming to or neer *London*, as the most probable means to procure a speedy and well-grounded peace. And seeing your Lordships have done us the honour to meet with us in this free and brotherly conference, we do expect that you will concur and assent to this proposition, or propound a better expedient for the good of both kingdoms. But if the honourable houses will not admit of this proposition, our next desire is (that it may appear, no lawfull and possible means are left unassayed which may procure a happy agreement betwixt the King & his Parliaments, and for our further exoneration) that Commissioners may yet once more be sent from both Kingdoms to his Majesty, to shew the meaning of our Propositions & to assert them, and to hear the Kings doubts, & difficulties, and desires, who may further intimate, that (if his Majesty shall not give a satisfactory answer to the propositions) then both  
kingdomes

Kingdoms will without making any such further application to him, take such course as they shall judge fittest for the peace and security of the kingdoms.

And as at the opening of this conference, I did begin with an humble, lawfull and laudable desire for unity in relation to Religion, the King, and amongst our selves; so shall I close in the same dialect. For the first of Religion, if we do remember our vows unto God to perform them, and shall endeavour really, constantly, and sincerely, the reformation of religion, and uniformity according to our *Covenant*, we may certainly expect that God will crown this great work; wherein he hath honored us to be actors, with his blessing; but if in place of uniformity, which we are obliged to endeavour, there shall be a toleration of all sects and sorts of religion, and if we neglect to build the house of God, and become insolent upon our successes; although we could mount up with Eagles wings, and build our nests as high as the starrs, and had an army who for valour and strength could march to *Constantinople*, God shall lay our glory low in the dust, and suffer the work to fall in our hands, like the confusion of *Babel*. And whatever hath been moved by us concerning the King, we desire it may be rightly constructed, as proceeding from such as have not wavered from their first principles; for when the King was in the height of his power, we did not, and (I hope) never shall flatter him; and when the enemy was in the height of their pride and strength, Scotland did fear no colours: and now when the King is at his lowest ebb, and hath cast himself into our army for safety, we hope your Lordships will pardon us from our sense of honour and duty to be very tender of the person and posterity of the King, to whom we have so many neer relations, and not like the worse of us: that we cannot so far forget our allegiance and duty, as not to have an antipathy against the change of Monarchical government, in which we have lived through the descent of so many Kings, and under which both kingdoms have been governed so many ages, and flourished in all happinesse. And now my last word shall be for constant unity between the kingdoms, which as it hath been the chief means to promote the great work wherein both kingdoms are so deeply engaged, so there is nothing can make us so formidable to our enemies, nor so much aiding one to another, as the cherishing and continuing thereof; and I dare say that no man would divide the one from the other, but such as desire to fish in troubled waters, and are real enemies to both. God hath blest the joint endeavours of both Nations, both are in oneness, and are come through a very great storm; and now when we are come into the harbor, it would be great shame to both to split upon the rocks of division (*et devorato bove desicere in cauda*) and your Lordships may be confident that Scotland, who have esteemed no hazard too great for settling of Religion and love to their Brethren, will stick so fast and firmly to you (so long as you hold the principles of your *Covenant*) as no fear nor favour will ever be able to divide them from you, and we do expect that reciprocal amity which may perpetuate our unity.

### The Lord Chancellor of Scotland his Speech, to the Kings Majesty at Newcastle.

YOur Majesty was pleased on Monday last to call the Lords of your Privy council of Scotland & the Committee, to acquaint them with the Propositions, & told, that before the delivery of your answer you would make the same known to them.

them. The time assigned for the stay of the commissioners is so short, & the consequence of your Majesties answer is of so great importance, either for the preservation, or ruine of your Crown and Kingdoms as we could not be answerable to God, nor to that trust reposed in us, unless we represent to your Majesty how necessary it is (as the condition of affairs now stand, and in so great an extremity) that your Majesty should assent to the Propositions, and that the danger and losse of your refusal will be remediless, and bring on sudden ruine and destruction.

I shall begin first with the last, which is the danger, and shall next speak a word of the remedy: The differences between your Majesty and your Parliament (which no man knows better then your Majesties selfe) are grown to such a height, that after many bloody battels, there is no cure but a present peace, otherwise nothing can be expected but certain destruction. The Parliament is possessor of your Navy and of all the Forts, garisons & strong holds of the kingdom: they have the Exchequer, assessments, & sequestrations at their disposal, & have authority to raise all the men & money in the Kingdom, and (after many victories and great successes) they have a strong Army on foot, and are now in such a posture for strength and power, as they are in a capacity to do what they will, both in Church and State: & some are so afraid, others so unwilling to submit themselves to your Majesties government, as they desire not you, nor any of your race longer to reign over them: Yet the people are so wearied of the wars, and great burthens they groan under, are so desirous of peace, and loth to have Monarchical government (under which they have lived so long in peace & plenty) changed; that such as are unwearied of your Majesties government, dare not attempt to cast it totally off, till once they send Propositions of peace to your Majesty, lest the people (without whose concurrence they are not able to carry on their design) should fall from them. And therefore all the people being desirous that (after so great wars and troubles) they may have a perfect security from oppression and arbitrary power, the Houses of Parliament have resolved upon the Propositions which are tendered to your Majesty, as that without which the Kingdom and your people cannot be in safety, and most part of the people think, that there cannot be a firm peace upon any other termes. Your Majesties friends, and the commissioners from Scotland, (after all the wrastling we could,) were forced to consent to the sending those Propositions, or to be hated as the hinderers of peace, and to send no Propositions at all. And now Sir, if your Majesty (which God forbid) shall refuse to assent to the Propositions, you will lose all your friends, lose the City, and all the country, and all England will joyn against you as one man, and (when all hope of reconciliation is past) it is to be feared they will proceesse and depose you, and set up another Government; they will charge us to deliver your Majesty to them, and to render the Northern garrisons, and to remove our Army out of England: & upon your Majesties refusing of the Propositions, both Kingdoms will be constrained for their mutual safety, to agree & settle Religion and Peace without you, which (to our unspeakable grief) will ruine your Majesty and your posterity: and if your Majesty reject our faithfull advice, (who desire nothing on earth more then the establishment of your Majesties throne,) and lose England by your wilfulness, your Majesty will not be permitted to come & ruine Scotland.

Sir, We have laid our hand upon our hearts, we have asked counsell and direction from God, and have had our most serious thoughts about the Remedy, but can find no other (as affairs stand for the present) to save your Crown and Kingdoms, then your Majesties assenting to the Propositions. We dare not say, but they are higher



in some things (if it were in our power and option to remedy it) then we do approve of; but when we see no other meanes for curing the distempers of the Kingdoms, and closing the breaches between your Majesty and your Parliament: Our most humble and faithful advice is, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to assent to them, as the only best way to procure a speedy and happy peace; because your Majesty shall thereby have many great advantages, You will be received again in your Parliament with the applause and acclamations of your People; by your Royall presence your friends will be strengthened, Your enemies (who fears nothing so much as the granting the Propositions) will be weakened, your Majesty will have a fit opportunity to offer such Propositions as you shall in your wisdom judge fit for the Crown and Kingdom; all Armies will be disbanded, and your people finding the sweet fruits of your peaceable Government, your Majesty will gain their hearts and affections, which will be your strength and glory, and will recover all that your Majesty hath lost in this time of tempest and trouble.

And if it please God so to incline your Royal heart to this advice of your humble and faithfull servants, who (next to the honour of God) esteem nothing more precious then the safety of your person and crown, Our actions shall quickly make it appear to all the world, That we esteem no hazard too great for your Majesties safety, and that we are willing to sacrifice our lives and fortunes for establishing of your Throne.

And now, Sir, we prostrate our selves at your Majesties feet, and in the lowest posture of humility do beg, That your Majesty may (in end) grant the suit of your most humble servants and faithfull subjects, who have no private aimes, but only the glory of God, and safety of your Majesties person, posterity, and crown before our eyes. And the granting of our desires will revive our fainting spirits: refresh our sad hearts, which are overwhelmed, and like to break with sorrow, and will turn the prayers and tears of the many thousands of your people, in prayes to God, and make them embrace your Majesty with acclamations of joy.

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